

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2828

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5379

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 USNATO 3879

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE: ANNEX TO PUBLIC OPINION GUIDANCE PAPER

REF: A. USNATO 3492

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B. STATE 171333 (NOTAL)

C. USNATO 3834 (NOTAL)

D. USNATO 3723 (NOTAL)

1. IN ITS JULY 23 MEETING, THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC) APPROVED A PAPER PROVIDING ILLUSTRATIVE GUIDANCE ON PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF KEY ELEMENTS IN EACH OF THE CSCE BASKETS. PAPER (TEXT BELOW) WAS PREPARED BY A WORKING GROUP OF NATO'S SENIOUR POLITICAL COMMITTEE AS AN ANNEX TO THE GENERAL CSCE PUBLIC OPINION GUIDANCE PAPER TRANSMITTED REF A. ANNEX INCORPORATES A PAPER SUBMITTED AS A NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION BY THE UK GIVING SAMPLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CSCE ISSUES AND OUTCOMES.

2. NAC APPROVED RELEASE OF BOTH DOCUMENTS AS USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO "PRESS KIT" OF ALLIED SPOKESMEN DEALING WITH CSCE, AND ON BASIS THAT THEY PROVIDED ILLUSTRATIVE GUIDELINES RATHER THAN IRONCLAD FORMULAS TO WHICH ALLIED SPOKESMEN MUST AHHERE.

3. WITH CONCLUSION OF CSCE'S STAGE II, NAC ALSO APPROVED DOWNGRADING OF GENERAL GUIDANCE PAPER (REF A) AND ANNEX TRANSMITTED BELOW FROM NATO CONFIDENTIAL TO NATO RESTRICTED WHICH IS EQUIVALENT OF US "LIMITED OFFICIAL USE" DESIGNATION.

4. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT ANNEX TEXT IS SAME AS TEXT TRANSMITTED REFS C AND D WITH FOLLOWING MINOR AMENDMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED IN TEXT TRANSMITTED BELOW:

(A) RADIO BROADCASTING TEXT (PARA 18) HAS FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL PHRASE "...OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, WITHOUT IMPLYING THAT GOVERNMENTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTENT OF SUCH BROADCASTS." UK SUGGESTED THIS ADDITION TO REFLECT WESTERN SUCCESS IN PARRYING SOVIET CSCE DEMAND THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR BROADCAST CONTENT.

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(B) REPLACE "MEETINGS" IN LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 21, WITH "...MULTILATERAL MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND" FRG SUGGESTED THIS CHANGE TO CONFORM TEXT TO FINAL AGREEEMNT ON CSCE FOLLOW-ON.

(C) THIRD SENTENCE OF ANSWER TO QUESTION NO. 12 IN BRITISH Q&A PAPER HAS BEEN CHANGED TO READ: "AMONG OTHER MATTERS, IT REFERS TO THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR CHANGE BY PEACEFUL MEANS;...." UK SUGGESTED THIS AMENDMENT TO AVOID POSSIBLY CONFUSING REFERENCE TO THE "PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL CHANGE" SINCE LATTER IS NOT ONE OF TEN PRINCIPLES IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

BEGIN TEXT

PUBLIC INFORMATION ASPECTS OF THE CSCE

FIRST BASKET: PRINCIPLES

1. IT IS QUITE PROBABLE THAT THE SOVIETS AND THEIR FRIENDS MIGHT HAVE INTENDED IN THE BEGINNING TO USE THE CSCE TO CREATE AN IMPRESSION OF HAVING ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL EUROPEAN BODY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ADAPTED TO THEIR PURPOSES IN EASTERN EUROPE. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE ALWAYS REFUTED THE ARGUMENT PUT FORWARD BY THE EASTERN COUNTRIES THAT THE COUMENT WHICH WILL BE HEADED "DECLARATION" WILL CARRY GREATER WEIGHT THAN THE OTHER CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE(1). THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE PARTICIPATING STATES ARE MERELY REAFFIRMING PRINCIPLES TO WHICH THEY HAVE ALREADY SUBSCRIBED IN THE UN CHARTER. IN PARTICULAR, THE USSR'S CHERISHED PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS IS ONLY A SPECIFIC DEDUCTION FROM THE TIME HONoured GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE AND IS THEREFORE NOT UNIQUE OR INDEED UNIQUELY APPLICABLE TO EASTERN EUROPE.

2. IT WAS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE TO PREVENT THE USSR FROM OBTAINING WESTERN BLESSING OF THE STATUS QUO IN EUROPE, BUT TO SECURE APPROVAL OF TEXTS WHICH, IN MANY RESPECTS, PLACE THE USSR ON THE DEFENSIVE. THE PRINCIPLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE PRINCIPLE ON SELF-DETERMINATION COULD CONFRONT THE USSR WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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AWKWARD QUESTIONS. MOREOVER, THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT TO GUIDE RELATIONS JUST BETWEEN COUNTRIES BELONGING TO DIFFERENT BLOCS BUT BETWEEN ALL PARTICIPATING STATES. THUS THE USSR HAS AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT THE SAME PRINCIPLES IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS ALLIES.

FIRST BASKET: CBMS

3. CERTAIN MODEST "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES" HAVE BEEN AGREED, NOTABLY THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES. WHILE THESE MEASURES DO NOT IN ANY WAY CURTAIL MILITARY ACTIVITIES OR ADD ANYTHING TO MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, THEIR IMPORTANCE LIES RATHER IN THEIR POLITICAL NATURE, THAT IS IN THE FACT THAT ALL PARTICIPATING STATES WILL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED UPON TO MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION IN THE MILITARY FIELD TOWARDS INCREASING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. THE WEST HAD HOPED AT THE OUTSET OF THE CONFERENCE TO HAVE MORE SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN THIS AREA THAN WILL PROVE POSSIBLE, BUT THE FACT THAT ALL STATES WILL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED UPON TO MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION TO INCREASING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IS IN ITSELF A WORTHWHILE IF LIMITED STEP IN THE PROCESS OF FURTHERING DETENTE. IT IS HOPED TO BE THAT IN FUTURE YEARS FURTHER STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION WILL BE

POSSIBLE.

(1) SOME WOULD PREFER THE IDEA EXPRESSED IN THIS SENTENCE
TO BE WORDED DIFFERENTLY.

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 CU-02 EB-07 NRC-05 (ISO) W

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R 231715Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC2829

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5380

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 USNATO 3879

SECOND BASKET: GENERAL

4. THE TEXTS ON TRADE, BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY AIM AT
ESTABLISHING GENERAL GUIDELINS FOR FUTURE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST. THEY ARE NEITHER MEANT TO ESTABLISH A NEW ECONOMIC
CHARTER NOR TO REPLACE GATT. IN THE FRAME WORK OF CSCE, SOME
IMPORTANT ADVANCES HAVE BEEN MADE, FOR EXAMPLE IN PROVISIONS FOR
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FACILITATING CONTACTS AND FLOW OF INFORMATION, WHICH REFLECT GENERAL WESTERN INTEREST IN BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS. THIS PROCESS MAY BE EASIER IN AREAS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHERE THERE ARE PROBABLY FEWER POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES TO AROUSE THAN SAY UNDER THE HEADING OF HUMAN CONTACTS.

SECOND BASKET: COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES

5. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS TEXT WILL BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE AREA OF BUSINESS CONTACTS, FACILITIES AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES WESTERN FIRMS WISHING TO CONDUCT BUSINESS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY IN THE USSR HAVE ENCOUNTERED HAS BEEN THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING APPROPRIATE BUSINESS CONTACTS WHEN TRYING TO MARKET PRODUCTS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE IN ALL CASES IT IS NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH STATE TRADING AGENCIES. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, ARE THE TEXTUAL REFERENCES INVOLVING UNDERTAKINGS ON THE PART OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR EXPANDED CONTACTS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF ENTERPRISES, FIRMS AND BANKS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN TRADE, AND ALSO BETWEEN "SELLERS AND USERS OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES".

6. IN ADDITION TO "CONTACT" PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN DOING BUSINESS IN EASTERN EUROPE, WESTERN FIRMS HAVE OFTEN HAD DIFFICULTY IN "LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEMS" NEEDED TO SUSTAIN THEIR OPERATIONS - I.E. ACCOMMODATION, COMMUNICATION FACILITIES, LEGAL INFORMATION RELATED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT OFFICES, ETC. THE TEXTS CONTAIN PROVISIONS SEEKING SOME IMPROVEMENT IN WORKING CONDITIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS, ENTERPRISES, FIRMS AND BANKS IN THESE IMPORTANT AREAS.

7. THE QUESTION OF DOUBLE TAXATION, TRANSFER OF PROFITS AND INVESTMENT RETURN IS ALSO COVERED IN A TEXT WHICH CALLS FOR FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO THE CONCLUSION OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AIMED AT ARRANGEMENTS IN THESE AREAS.

SECOND BASKET: BUSINESS INFORMATION

8. SEVERAL TEXTS IN THE AREA OF BUSINESS INFORMATION CONTAIN UNDERTAKINGS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF STATISTICAL DATA IN ALL FIELDS. IN THE PAST RELEASE OF SUCH INFORMATION, EXCEPT FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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GENERAL DATA, HAS BEEN RETARDED IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. IN RELATION TO THE PROVISION OF BUSINESS INFORMATION, THE TEXTS IN QUESTION PROVIDE FOR THE PUBLISHING AND DISSEMINATION OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION "AT REGULAR INTERVALS AND AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE", PARTICULARLY: STATISTICS CONCERNING PRODUCTION, NATIONAL INCOME, BUDGET CONCESSIONS AND PRODUCTIVITY; FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICS INCLUDING A BREAKDOWN BY PRODUCT WITH AN INDICATION OF VOLUME AND VALUE AS WELL AS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

OR DESTINATION; LAWS AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING FOREIGN TRADE; INFORMATION ALLOWING FORECASTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY TO ASSIST IN TRADE PROMOTION, FOR EXAMPLE INFORMATION ON THE GENERAL ORIGIN OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANS AND PROGRAMMES; OTHER INFORMATION TO HELP BUSINESSMEN IN COMMERCIAL CONTACTS, E.G. PERIODIC DIRECTORIES, LISTS, AND WHERE POSSIBLE, ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS OF FIRMS AND ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN TRADE.

SECOND BASKET: SETTLEMENT OF COMMERCIAL DISPUTES

9. THIS TEXT INTER ALIA RECOMMENDS THE INCLUSION OF ARBITRATION CLAUSES IN COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS, INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION CONTRACTS OR ANY SPECIAL AGREEMENTS, AND THAT THE PROVISIONS SHOULD COVER ARBITRATION UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SETS OF RULES AND PERMIT ARBITRATION IN A THIRD COUNTRY.

SECOND BASKET: INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION

10. THE RESOLUTIONS ON INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION ARE THE FIRST MULTILATERAL STATEMENT ON THIS NEW FORM OF EAST-WEST CO-OPERATION (CO-OPERATION FROM COMPANY TO COMPANY). THEY AIM AT INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN STATE TRADING COUNTRIES CONCERNING INFORMATION AND CONTACTS AT COMPANY LEVEL. ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN THIS TEXT IS THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION IS "MOTIVATED BY ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS". THIS HAS BEEN INCLUDED IN THE TEXTS AT WESTERN INSISTENCE IN ORDER TO AVOID THE IMPLICATION THAT INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION PROJECTS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED FOR POLITICAL, RATHER THAN ECONOMIC ENDS.

11. THE TEXTS IN THE AREA OF INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION OPEN POSSIBILITIES SUCH AS:

- INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED
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COMPANIES;

- EXPANSION OF CERTAIN FORMS OF CO-OPERATION (FOR EXAMPLE, STUDYING THE USEFULNESS OF COMBINED PRODUCTION COMPANIES IN EASTERN EUROPE);
- PROJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS;
- IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF INFORMATION RELEVANT TO INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, INCLUDING LAWS AND REGULATIONS RELATING TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

SECOND BASKET: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

12. THE WESTERN AIM CONSISTED PRIMARILY IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BASIS PRINCIPLES FOR SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGES WITH THE EAST WITH A VIEW TO BROADER CO-OPERATION. THE OBJECTIVE WAS TO FACILITATE THIS CO-OPERATION, IN PARTICULAR

TO SET UP A PROCEDURE FOR SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AND TO REDUCE-
AS FAR AS POSSIBLE - THE ADMINISTRATIVE OBSTACLES WHICH ARE
AT PRESENT USUAL IN THE EAST. THE WEST URGED THE WIDEST
POSSIBLE RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL
INFORMATION AND OF SCIENTIFIC PERSONNEL. THE TEXT ON SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY, AS IT STANDS NOW, LARGELY CORRESPONDS TO
WESTERN SUGGESTIONS.

SECOND BASKET: ENVIRONMENT

13. WE WOULD WISH TO STRESS THE DEVELOPEMNT OF CO-OPERATION
IN THE FIELD OF THE ENVIRONMENT BY "PROMOTING THE PROGRESSIVE
DEVELOPMENT, CODIFICATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL
LAW..." THE INTERNATIONAL LAW PROVISION CARRIES OVER TO CSCE
AT LEAST SOME OF THE SUBSTANCE OF PRINCIPLES 21 AND 22 OF THE
STOCKHOLM DECLARATION AND COMMITS THE USSR AND OTHER EASTERN
EUROPEAN STATES NOT PRESENT AT STOCKHOLM TO THOSE PRINCIPLES
AND IN GENERAL TO THE NETWORK OF ENVIRONMENTAL CO-OPERATION
DEVELOPED THERE.

THIRD BASKET: HUMAN CONTACTS

14. THE RAPPROCHEMENT ADVOCATED BY THE WEST ESSENTIALLY
REFERRED TO THE FLOW OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE WHICH SHOULD NOT BE LEFT
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TO THE DISCRETION OF STATE ORGANS BUT TO INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE.
THE TEXTS THAT HAVE EMERGED IN THE AREA OF HUMAN CONTACTS ARE
OBVIOUSLY LESS AMBITIOUS AND MORE QUALIFIED THAN WE WISHED
ORIGINALLY. IN
SPITE OF THEIR LIMITATIONS WHICH ARE DUE TO EASTERN EFFORTS TO
RESTRICT THEIR SCOPE, THE TEXTS ARE, ON THE WHOLE, INSPIRED
BY WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. THE ASSURANCES OF IMPROVEMENTS CONTAINED
IN THE TEXT SHOW THAT THE YARDSTICK BEING APPLIED ARE WESTERN
CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. THIS IS THE FIRST OCCASION
WHEN SUCH MATTERS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED MULTILATERALLY IN SUCH
A CONFERENCE AND THE RESULTS LAID DOWN IN AN INTERNATIONAL
DOCUMENT. IN THIS WAY THE EAST, WHICH HAS UP TO NOW DESCRIBED
ALL ATTEMPTS TO DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS AS INTERFERENCE IN ITS
INTERNAL AFFAIRS, HAS ACCEPTED THEM AS LEGITIMATE SUBJECTS FOR
INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WILL BE
ABLE TO INVOKE THIS FACT IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH
EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES AND IT WILL HOPEFULLY ALSO STRENGTHEN
THE HAND OF OUR CONSULAR OFFICIALS WHO ARE TRYING TO IMPROVE
CO-OPERATION WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN INDIVIDUAL EASTERN
COUNTRIES IN THESE MATTERS.

FAMILY MATTERS

15. IN THIS FIELD, THE WESTERN AIM CONSISTED IN URGING A
MODIFICATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICES.

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INFL ALL NATO CAPITALS 5381

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 USNATO 3879

IN THE CASE OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, THE TEXT BEGINS WITH THE WORDS "PARTICIPATING STATES WILL DEAL IN A POSITIVE AND HUMANITARIAN SPIRIT WITH APPLICATIONS". THE DETAILS WHICH FOLLOW OFFER POINTS OF REFERENCE TO WHICH THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS ESPECIALLY THEIR CONSULAR OFFICIALS - WESTERN RED CROSS SOCIETIES AND CORRESPONDING ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS CAN REFER WHEN HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS ARE TO BE SOLVED. FURTHERMORE, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE AMOUNT OF DETAIL WHICH FOLLOWS IN EACH CASE GIVES THE TEXTS A SUBSTANTIAL CHARACTER THAT REINFORCES THEIR MORAL AND POLITICAL FORCE AND CLEARLY IMPLIES THAT STATES ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TOWARDS REALIZATION OF THE GENERAL GOAL: I.E.

REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES OR FACILITATING MARRIAGE BETWEEN PARTNERS OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES.

THIRD BASKET: INFORMATION

16. IN THE FIELD OF INFORMATION, IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE VIES OF EAST AND WEST IN AN AGREED TEXT. THE EAST EUROPEAN REGIMES RECOGNISED THAT THEIR STABILITY COULD BE THREATENED BY UNRESTRICTED PENETRATION OF WESTERN IDEAS. IT WAS THUS ONLY POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE FIRST STEPS IN MANY ASPECTS. THESE INCLUDE A CLEAR PROMISE BY THE EAST TO FACILITATE THE DISSEMINATION OF PRINTED INFORMATION AND THE ACCESS OF THE POPULATION TO THIS INFORMATION.

WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS

17. THE EAST STILL DOES NOT CONSIDER ITSELF ABLE TO LIFT RESTRICTIONS WHICH IMPEDE OBJECTIVE REPORTS ON INTERNAL CONDITIONS FROM REACHING THE WEST WITH ALSO THE CONSEQUENT RISK OF THEIR BEING FED BACK INTO THE EAST. FOR THIS REASON, IT WAS ONLY POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A TEXT ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS OF JOURNALISTS WHICH CONTAINS A NUMBER OF LIMITATIONS. HOWEVER, THE WEST WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT THAT THE MAJOR OBSTACLES WHICH COMPLICATE THE WORK OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BE CLEARLY MENTIONED AND THAT ASSURANCES OF IMPROVEMENT BE GIVEN WITH REGARD TO EACH OF THEM. THIS CONCERNS A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH WERE REPEATEDLY STATED BY THE EAST TO BE NON-NEGOTIABLE. THIS TEXT OPENS THE WAY FOR A LATER RESUMPTION OF THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS. IT INCLUDES PARAGRAPHS ON FACILITATING THE ISSUANCE OF NECESSARY TRAVEL AND WORKING DOCUMENTATION TO JOURNALISTS, CONTACTS WITH SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND NO EXPULSION FOR THE PURSUIT OF LEGITIMATE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES; IT ALSO COVERS GREATER OPPORTUNITES FOR TRAVEL IN THE COUNTRY WHERE THE JOURNALISTS ARE WORKING. MOREOVER, THE TEXT ENVISAGES INCREASING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR JOURNALISTS TO COMMUNICATE PERSONALLY WITH THEIR SOURCES, INCLUDING ORGANIZATIONS AND OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND TO IMPORT THE TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT NECESSARY FOR THEIR WORK. THE PARTICIPATING STATES INTEND TO ENABLE JOURNALISTS TO TRANSMIT THE RESULTS OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY RAPIDLY AND COMPLETELY TO THE INFORMATION MEDIA THEY REPRESENT.

RADIO BROADCASTING

18. THE TEXT WILL ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE CONTINUED EXPANSION OF THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BY INTERNATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING IS INTENDED TO LEAD TO THE GROWTH OF MUTUAL UNDERSTNDING; WITHOUT IMPLYING THAT GOVERNMENTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTENT OF SUCH BROADCASTS.

THIRD BASKET: CULTURE AND EDUCATION

19. THE FINAL TEXTS ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION CONTAIN A NUMBER OF PROVISIONS POTENTIALLY USEFUL IN THE DEVELOPEMENT OF CO-OPERATION, CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES IN THESE TWO FIELDS. THUS AMONG THE OBJECTIVES CONTAINED IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE TEXT ON CULTURAL CO-OPERATION ONE FINDS: "TO PROMOTE ACCESS BY ALL TO THEIR RESPECTIVE CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS", AS WELL AS "TO DEVELOP CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG PERSONS ACTIVE IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE". IMPORTANT CLAUSES ARE FOUND IN THE CHAPTERS ON ACCESS AND CONTACTS, SUCH AS THE INTENTION TO PROMOTE FULLER MUTUAL ACCESS BY ALL TO THE AHCIEVEMENTS IN THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF CULTURE. HERE, SPECIAL EMPHASIS IS LAID ON FACILITITATING INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES, AND PROMOTING AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SALES OUTLETS FOR FOREIGN BOOKS. MOREOVER, IT IS INTENDED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS AND PEOPLE ENGAGED IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. THE TEXT ON EDUCATION CONTAINS SIMILAR STATEMENTS OF INTENTION.

BASKET IV: FOLLOW-UP

20. THE RESULT UNDER THIS ITEM REFLECTS THE WISHES OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES TO MAKE SURE IF THE CONFERENCE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN ACTED ON, AND THAT THE "FOLLOW-UP" SHOULD BE PRACTICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE HAVING REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS ALREADY TAKEN. THUS THE DECLARATION ON "FOLLOW-UP" STRESSES THE RESOLUTION OF THE PARTIES TO GIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRACTICAL EFFECT TO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, UNILATERALLY, BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY. MOREOVER, IT PROVIDES FOR THE HOLDING OF MULTILATERAL MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND OF REPRESENTATIVES DESIGNATED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE FIRST IN 1977, TO CONSIDER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE DECISIONS AND PROGRESS, IN THIS CONTEXT, IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF REALTIONS, SECURITY AND DETENTE.

21. THE ALLIED COUNTRIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST THE CREATION, ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE, OF A PERMANENT, GENERAL-PURPOSE BODY WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPERVISING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL DECISIONS BEFORE ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE TO CARRY OUT THESE DECISIONS. SUCH A BODY WOULD OFFER TO THE EASTERN COUNTIRES A FURTHER ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF THEIR POLICY OF SEEKING TO CREATE A PAN-EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF CO-OPERATION WHICH THEY SEE AS A MEANS OF SUPPLANTING GROWING WESTERN SOLIDARITY.

UNITED KINGDOM PAPER

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CSCE

1. WHAT MAJOR GAINS AT THE CONFERENCE WERE ACHIEVED
BY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO BALANCE THE SOVIET
CLAIM OF ENDORSEMENT OF THE STATUS QUO IN EUROPE?

THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT ENDORSE THE TERRITORIAL
STATUS QUO IN EUROPE. ITS DECISIONS WILL BE OF A POLITICAL
NATURE AND WILL NOT HAVE LEGAL FORCE. IT WILL RECOGNIZE THAT,
WHILE EXISTING FRONTIERS IN EUROPE ARE INVOLABLE, THEY CAN
BE CHANGED - IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW - BY
PEACEFUL MEANS OR BY AGREEMENT.

WESTERN VIEWS HAVE BEEN WELL REFLECTED IN ALL THE
DOCUMENTS DRAWN UP AT THE CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THE DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH FOR INSTANCE CONTAINS GOOD TEXTS ON
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, AND WHICH RECOGNIZES
SPECIFICALLY THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE DEVELOPEMENT OF
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES. BUT THE WEST'S DYNAMIC VIEW
OF EUROPE WAS REFLECTED IN A LARGE NUMBER OF PROPOSALS FOR
PRACTICAL MEASURES TO IMPROVE REALTIONS IN EUROPE. SATISFACTORY
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TEXTS HAVE NOW BEEN DRAWN UP AND INCLUDE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE
ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES, AND A VARIETY
OF TEXTS PROVIDING FOR THE FREER CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE
INFORMATION AND IDEAS THROUGHOUT EUROPE. THERE ARE ALSO A
WIDE RANGE OF TEXTS PROVIDING FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL,
CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CONTACTS WHICH SHOULD BENEFIT WESTERN
SPEIALISTS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN THE MANY FIELDS CONCERNED.
PROVIDED ALL THE PARTICIPANTS TRANSLATE THESE PROMISES INTO
PRACTICE ONCE THE CONFERENCE IS OVER, THE SITUATION IN EUROPE
AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN WILL BE SUBSTANTIALY
IMPROVED.

2. WHAT ADVANCES MAY BE ACHIEVED IN OTHER EAST/WEST
NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE APPROXIMATE
PARALLELISM WHICH THE WEST APPEARED TO PRESCRIBE
AT AN EARLIER STAGE?

THE DECISIONS OF THE CSCE SHOULD, ONCE THEY ARE PUT
INTO PRACTICE, BE OF REAL BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AS
A WHOLE IN THEIR EVERDAY LIVES. THE WEST HAS THEREFORE AT
NO STAGE SOUGHT TO MAKE PROGRESS AT THE CSCE CONDITIONAL ON
EQUIVALENT PROGRESS AT OTHER NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, IT
IS OBVIOUS THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE JDGED
NOT ONLY BY THE WAY IN WHICH THE DECISONS OF THE CSCE ARE PUT
INTO EFFECT, BUT ALSO BY THE WILLINGNESS SHOWN BY THE
SOVIET UNION AND HERE ALLIES TO MAKE SIMILAR PROGRESS IN
NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MILITARY FIELD, IN PARTICULAR THOSE ON
THE REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AT VIENNA.

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 USNATO 3879

3. WAS CONSULTATION WITHIN NATO SUCCESSFUL IN
STRENGTHENING OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION OR DID IT
LEAD ULTIMATELY TO A LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR
ATTITUDE, FOR INSTANCE ON PARALLELISM?

ADVANCE ALLIED CONSULTATION SUCCEEDED IN DEVELOPING
A COMMON ALLIANCE APPROACH TOWARDS THE CONFERENCE AND LED TO
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THE TABLING OF A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS WHICH WERE ADOPTED BY THE
CONFERENCE. ALSO THROUGHOUT THE TWO YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS AT THE
CSCE, CO-ORDINATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN
CLOSE AND CONSTANT. THIS HAS HAD A MAJOR EFFECT ON THE OUTCOME
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, AND HAS UNDERLINED THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DETENTE. BY

STANDING FIRMLY AND PATIENTLY ON MAJOR POINTS OF PRINCIPLE WHILE ADVANCING THE NEGOTIATIONS WHENEVER POSSIBLE IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE COMPROMISE, THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE BALANCED RESULTS WHICH CORRESPOND FULLY TO WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

4. WHAT WILL THE WESTERN ATTITUDE BE IF EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN BASKET III IS RESTRICTIVE?

IT IS TRUE THAT, UNTIL A FAIRLY LATE STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET UNION AND HERE ALLIES WERE ANXIOUS TO WORK RESTRICTIVE FORMULATIONS INTO THE TEXTS, PARTICULARLY IN BASKET III. HOWEVER, THE TEXTS NOW CONTAIN CLEAR COMMITMENTS TO TAKE ACTION ALONG PARTICULAR LINES, AND THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THUS SEEM TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE WESTERN VIEW THAT, IF DETENTE IS TO ENJOY THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OPINION, IT MUST BE SEEN TO HOLD TANGIBLE BENEFITS FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE. ALL THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO ENSURE THAT ITS DECISIONS ARE FULLY PUT INTO EFFECT. THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL HONOUR THIS COMMITMENT, AND EXPECT ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO DO THE SAME. THE FUTURE OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS AND ANY AGREEMENT TO HOLD FUTURE MEETINGS OF THE PRESENT KIND WILL DEPEND UPON HOW FULLY THE DECISIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN PUT INTO EFFECT.

5. HOW DOES THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE SQUARE WITH EVENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD AND THE SPREAD OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE?

ONE OF THE PRINCIPLES TO BE ENUNCIATED AT HELSINKI COMMITS STATES IN DETAIL AGAINST ANY TYPE OF INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, AND WOULD JEOPARDISE THE PROSPECTS FOR DETENTE TO WHICH THE SOVIET LEADERS ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE, IF THIS PRINCIPLE WERE NOT ACTED UPON IN THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONS WITH ALL STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE RUSSIANS WILL, FOLLOWING THE CSCE, MODIFY THEIR DOCTRINE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH CALLS FOR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES, ACCOMPANIED HOWEVER BY UNREMITTING STRUGGLE AT THE IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL LEADING TO THE ULTIMATE ELIMINATION OF CAPITALISM. THIS DOCTRINE WILL BE DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH THE COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN AT THE CSCE. THE ALLIANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY TO SEE HOW FAR THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE MEASURES UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS AT THE CONFERENCE.

6. WHAT NEW INITIATIVES ARE BEING CONSIDERED BY THE WEST AND SPECIFICALLY IN NATO IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE OR FURTHER PURSUE THE DETENTE PROCESS, ASSUMING THAT CSCE

FOLLOW-UP REMAINS ROUGHLY ON COURSE?

THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IS NOT YET FIRMLY ESTABLISHED, AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT NOT TO OVERLOAD IT IN THE EARLY STAGES. THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE WILL REQUIRE ACTION BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES IN A LARGE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT FIELDS, OFTEN UNILATERALLY BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES ON THEIR INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT, BUT ALSO IN SOME CASES BILATERALLY OR MULTILATERALLY. THE EMPHASIS IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF WHAT HAS SO FAR BEEN AGREED. PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE HAVE AGREED TO MEET AGAIN IN ABOUT TWO YEARS TO ASSESS IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDER PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER ACTION. THIS MEANS THAT ALL CONCERNED ACCEPT THAT THE NEXT TWO YEARS SHOULD BE USED TO IMPLEMENT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE. THE ALLIANCE WILL, FOR INSTANCE, TAKE ITS PART IN ENSURING THAT THESE CONCLUSIONS ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED IN THE MILITARY FIELD. IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE THERE WILL ALSO BE A NEED TO MATCH THE PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD WITH EQUIVALENT PROGRESS IN THE MILITARY FIELD, IN PARTICULAR AT THE TALKS ON THE REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AT VIENNA.

7. ARE WE NOT RUNNING THE RISK THROUGH BASKET III OF DESTABILIZING THE SITUATION IN EUROPE BY ADDING TO THE SENSE OF INSECURITY IN THE EAST, AND WAS NOT THE WEST'S POSITION ON THIS MORE IDEOLOGICAL IN TONE THAN CONFIDENTIAL

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ANYTHING SOUGHT BY THE SOVIETS?

IT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE WESTERN APPROACH TO DETENTE THAT, IF THE PROCESS IS TO HAVE ANY MEANING AND BE ACCEPTABLE TO WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION, IT MUST YIELD CONCRETE BENEFIT TO INDIVIDUALS, BOTH PERSONALLY AND IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES. BASKET III IS CONCERNED WITH THE NEED TO BUILD MORE SECURE, FRUITFUL AND CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS THROUGHOUT EUROPE, IN FIELDS FROM WHICH INDIVIDUALS, THROUGH GREATER FREEDOM, CAN DRAW DIRECT BENEFIT. THE TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DRAWN UP OFFER A GOOD BASIS FOR PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT FIELDS. THEY ARE DESIGNED TO PUT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND THEIR INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS ON A BASIS OF TRUST RATHER THAN SUSPICION, AND OF KNOWLEDGE RATHER THAN IGNORANCE. BUT THEY ARE VERY LIMITED IN SCOPE, AND CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO LEAD TO MORE THAN GRADUAL CHANGE. THE RISK IS THAT THE PACE WILL BE TOO SLOW, RATHER THAN THAT THE SITUATION IN EUROPE WILL BE DESTABILIZED.

8. THE SOVIET UNION CLAIMS THAT THE CSCE IS A TRIUMPH FOR ITS POLICY OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE". WHAT IS THE WESTERN VIEW OF THIS CLAIM?

THE DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IS AIMED AT

REALTIONS BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. AN
ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN ITS DEFINITION IS THAT CO-OPERATION
SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY UNREMITTING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE SHORT OF MILITARY CONFLICT. THIS IS
NOT A CONCEPT WHICH WE CAN OR WILL ACCEPT. THE CONCLUSIONS
OF THE CSCE NOWHERE REFLECT THE IDEA THAT IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE
IS AN INEVITABLE OR NECESSARY ELEMENG IN RELATIONS BETWEEN
STATES. THEY EMPHASIZE RATHER THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION AMONG
STATES AND INDIVIDUALS IN ALL FIELDS AND ARE BASED UPON IDEAS
OF IDEOLOGICAL TOLERANCE OF WHICH A MAJOR ELEMENT IS THE
FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, INFORMATION AND IDEAS. THE
CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS THUS EXPRESS A VIEW OF REALTIONS WITHING
EUROPE WHICH RUNS DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THE ELEMENTS IN THE
DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" TO WHICH THE SOVIET
IDEOLOGISTS ATTACH MOST IMPORTANCE. AND THE FACT THAT THE
DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND THE PRACTICAL MEASURES OF
CO-OPERATION HAVE EQUAL STATUS DEMONSTRATES THAT THE QUALITY
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OF EUROPEAN RELATIONS WILL BE JDUGED IN FUTURE NOT SIMPLY
IN TERMS OF ABSTRACT IDEAS BUT IN TERMS OF THE PRACTICAL
IMPLICATIONS OF MEASURES OF DAY TO DAY CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL
TRUST.

9. WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AT THE CSCE TO UNDERMINE THE
BREZHNEV DOCTRINE OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY?

THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN CONCERNED WITH MATTERS OF
MORE IMPORTANCE THAN THE UNDERMINING OF SO-CALLED COTRINES
WHICH ENJOY NO VALIDITY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. NEVERTHELESS,
ALL THE PARTICIPANTS WILL UNDERTAKE AT HELSINKI TO RESPECT
EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. THIS CONCEPT IS DEFINED
IN THE FIRST OF THE TEN PRINCIPLES IN TERMS WHICH EXCLUDE ANY
ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE SOVEREIGNHTY OF ANY OTHER PARTICIPATING
STATE, WHICH SET THE CONDUCT OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS FIRMLY
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND WHICH MAKE NO
DISTINCTION BETWEEN STATES OF SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT ECONOMIC,
POLITICAL OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5383

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 USNATO 3879

10. HAS THE CONFERENCE PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE
SOVIET UNION'S ALLIES TO LOOSEN THAT COUNTRY'S
GRIP ON THEIR AFFAIRS?

THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN CONDUCTED ON THE BASIS OF
CONSENSUS. THIS MEANS THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO NEED FOR ANY
PARTICIPANT TO ACCEPT A VIEW PUT FORWARD BY ANY OTHER
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PARTICIPANT TO ACCEPT A VIEW PUT FORWARD BY ANT OTHER
PARTICIPANT WITH WHICH HE DISAGRESS, AND THAT ALL COUNTRIES
HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE PART ON AN ENTIRELY
INDEPENDENT BASIS.

THERE HAVE BEEN OCCASIONS AT THE CSCE WHEN SOME AT
LEASE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ALLIES HAVE PUBLICLY DISAGREED
WITH THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW AND WE EXPECT THAT THIS PROCESS
WILL CONTINUE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CONFERENCE. IT IS NOT
WITHOUT IMPORTANCE THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS IS ONE WHICH
THE ROMANIANS AND OTHERS ARE TRYING TO ESTABLISH - AGAINST
SOVIET OPPOSITION - IN MEETINGS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

11. WHAT WILL THE CONFERENCE HAVE DONE TO IMPROVE THE
SECURITY OF THE WEST?

THE CONFERENCE HAS NOT BEEN CONCERNED WITH FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF MILITARY SECURITY IN EUROPE. THAT IS THE TASK OF NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS THOSE BEING HELD IN VIENNA ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES. HOWEVER, THE CONFERENCE HAS RECOGNIZED THAT SECURITY CANNOT BE CONSIDERED IN A PURELY POLITICAL FRAME WORK. ITS MILITARY ASPECTS HAVE BEEN REFLECTED, TO SOME EXTENT, IN VARIOUS MEASURES DESIGNED TO IMPROVE POLITICAL CONFIDENCE AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES THROUGH STEPS TAKEN IN THE MILITARY FIELD. THESE MEASURES INCLUDE THE ADVNACE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES, AND THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MANOEUVRES. THEY WILL NOT, IN THEMSELVES, IMPROVE MILITARY SECURITY IN ANY PART OF EUROPE. BUT IF THEY ARE ACTED ON THEY SHOULD MARK A MODEST BEGINNING IN TACKLING THE CAUSES OF MILITARY TENSION IN EUROPE, AND HELP TO PROVIDE THE RIGHT POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR PROGRESS AT OTHER NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS THOSE IN VIENNA.

12. THE WEST WANTED TO AVOID MERE DECLARATIONS. HOW MANY FIRM DECISIONS HAVE IN FACT BEEN TAKEN?

ONE OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE A DECLARATION OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE TO APPLY IN FUTURE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLARATION IS AN IMPORTANT POLITCAL DOCUMENT. AMONG OTHER MATTERS, IT REFERS TO THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND TO THE POSSIBLITY OF THEIR CHANGE BY PEACEFUL MEANS; TO THE NEED TO AVOID INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES; TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS; AND TO THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN CO-OPERATION AMONG STATES. IN THESE AND OTHER RESPECTS, THE DECLARATION REFLECTS THE WESTERN POINT OF VIEW. HOWEVER, IT IS ONLY ONE PART OF THE FINAL CONFERENCE COCUMENT. THE MEETING IN HELSINKI WILL COMMIT GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT THE CONCLUSIONS OVER A WIDE-RANGING FIELD. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE, FOR INSTANCE, BEEN DRAWN UP FOR THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES, AND FOR THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MANOEUVRES. THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF TEXTS REFLECTING INTENTIONS TO IMPROVE CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION THE FIELD OF TRADE, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY. AND IN THE FIELD OF INFORMATION AND HUMAN CONTACTS, THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE DECIDED TO INCREASE THE AVAILABILITY OF BROADCAST, PRINTED AND OTHER TYPES OF INFORMATION BETWEEN AND WITHIN THEIR COUNTRIES; TO MAKE SURE THAT JOURNALISTS ARE ABLE TO PURSUE THEI LEGITIMATE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY WITHOUT INTERFERENCE; AND TO ALLOW FREER TRAVEL BY THEIR CITIZENS WHETHER FOR PROFESSIONAL OR PERSONAL REASONS, INCLUDING FOR INSTANCE WHEN THEY WISH TO MARRY OR TO BE REUNITED WITH MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES. THE TEXTS ALSO PROVIDE FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION IN MATTERS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

PARTICIPANTS HAVE ACCEPTED A MORAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION TO IMPLEMENT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, WHICH ARE NOT LEGALLY BINDING. NATURALLY IN A CONFERENCE OF THIS KIND THE LEVEL OF COMMITMENT FOR EACH PIECE OF ACTION HAS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE COMPETENCE AND PRESENT PRACTICE OF THE GOVERNMENTS WHO ARE TO EXPRESS THEIR CONSENSUS. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT IT WILL IN PRACTICE BE EMBARRASSING FOR STATES NOT TO GIVE DECENT EFFECT TO THE PROMISES OF ACTION WHICH THEY WILL MAKE AT GENEVA.

13. HAVE THE RUSSIANS NOT BROUGHT PSYCHOLOGICAL DISARMAMENT A BIG STEP CLOSER BY MEANS OF THE CSCE?

NO, PROVIDED THAT THE NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD. THE REAL SOURCES OF MILITARY TENSION IN EUROPE ARE BEING TACKLED NOT AT THE CSCE BUT AT NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS THOSE IN VIENNA ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. IT WILL CERTAINLY BE NECESSARY, AFTER THE CONFERENCE IS OVER, TO MAKE EARLY PROGRESS WITH THOSE NEGOTIATIONS IF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IS TO STAY IN BALANCE.

CERTAIN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES APPLICABLE IN THE MILITARY FIELD HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED AT THE CSCE, INCLUDING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES. THESE WILL HAVE NO MILITARY EFFECT. THEY ARE INTENDED ONLY AS A MODEST FIRST STEP ALONG THE ROAD TOWARDS IMPROVING POLITICAL CONFIDENCE AND REDUCING MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE MILITARY INTENTIONS OF OTHER STATES. BUT PROVIDED THEY ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED, THEY SHOULD BE OF USE IN THIS LIMITED SENSE, AND HELP TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS THOSE IN VIENNA.

IT WOULD BE WRONG TO SUPPOSE THAT THE CSCE WILL IN ITSELF HAVE ANY EFFECT ON THE SITUATION IN EUROPE. ALL THAT CAN BE SAID IS THAT IF ITS DECISIONS ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED BY ALL THE PARTICIPANTS, AND IF PROGRESS IS MADE IN REDUCING THE DANGEROUS LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS AND FORCES CONFRONTING EACH OTHER IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THEN DETENTE WILL HAVE PROVED ITS WORTH AS A POLICY WHICH CAN BRING CONCRETE BENEFIT TO ORDINARY PEOPLE.

14. THE RUSSIANS SEE THE CSCE AS A STEP TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A "SYSTEM OF PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY". THE WEST SEEMS TO OPPOSE THIS CONCEPT. WHY?

CALLS BY THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SYSTEMS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY OWE MORE TO PROPAGANDA THAN TO ANY GENUINE DESIRE TO MAKE EUROPE MORE SECURE. THE RUSSIANS HAVE OFTEN MADE IT CLEAR THAT, IN THEIR VIEW, A

SYSTEM OF PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY WOULD INVOLVE THE DISMANTLEMENT
OF NATO AND OF THE WARSAW PACT. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW THEY
RECONCILE THESE PROPOSALS WITH THE SUBSTANTIAL GROWTH, YEAR
BY YEAR, IN THEIR MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND IN THE FORCES
DEPLOYED OFFENSIVELY BY THE WARSAW PACT. IN ANY CASE A
DISMANTLING OF THE WARSAW PACT WOULD NOT NECESSARILY WEAKEN
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SOVIET MILITARY SUPREMACY IN EASTERN EUROPE. MOREOVER, THE
CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE DO NOT AFFECT THE EXISTING NETWORK
OF BILATERAL TREATIES WHICH BIND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE KIND OF SECURITY SYSTEM
WHICH THE RUSSIANS HAVE IN MIND WOULD EVIDENTLY BE STRICTLY
ON SOVIET TERMS. THIS UNDERLINES THE CONTINUING NEED FOR
THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE TO ENSURE THE COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENCE
OF WESTERN EUROPE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO03879
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507102/abbrzldm.tel
Line Count: 994
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 19
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. USNATO 3492
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <10 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: ANNEX TO PUBLIC OPINION GUIDANCE PAPER
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
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